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577 834 291 particular, although it would certainly be utterly immodest for any grown-up woman purposelessly to take off her tapis completely, even though seen only from behind; and going around half-naked is not to be recommended, even to a married woman, when in the presence of outsiders."

In 1927, while on my way to Karagawan, I followed the course of the river which I had to cross at every turn; so my Isneg carrier took off his G-string at the first crossing and did not put it on again, except on a certain occasion, when we were approaching a house. "Wait a moment", he said, "I shall put on my G-string, as who knows but there may be some women at home there espying me".

At the teachers' house I had a talk with the mother of one of the Iloko teachers, and, in the course of the conversation, she related to me how astonished the Isneg women of that place had been, when she had told them that she wore no G-string. "But suppose your saya came off, would not your genitalia be exposed to view?" they had exclaimed, with horror painted all over their faces. The Isneg have a special qualifying term for an Isneg woman who wears no G-string: she is called *pańńáw*.

577 834 291 177 Several years ago, there came an order, I believe from the Bureau of Education, that all school children should pass a physical examination before the physician of the district; but very soon the order had to be revoked, as otherwise it was feared that an uprising would occur among our Mountain people. The Isneg in particular could find no plausible reason for any man causing a girl to take off her garments in his presence.

836 577 684 "All Isneg boys should be careful not to render a girl pregnant: this is one of the delinquencies that are abhorred more than anything else among the Isneg. You may be inclined to sow your wild oats; that is but natural, but here you have to look out. You should never under any pretext impregnate a girl whom you could not marry afterwards, and even though you could make her your wife, it would still be a dangerous thing to do; suppose some obstacle comes in the way, you know the consequences; you know very well that the relatives of the offended girl will get the *adát*: they will raid your house and carry away your precious jars, your beads and all that is valuable. There is no mercy for a boy who has committed a crime like that; so do not be rash: fornication is a dangerous thing. When you go to court the girls (*mamabáy*) in the evening, use love charms and try to win the girl you love; to force her against

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her consent would be utter recklessness or, rather, out of the question: you would never escape unscathed from the place of your crime. For the rest be careful; even if the girl consents, always remember what pregnancy brings in its wake; so the surest way is to keep oneself free from such entanglements.

"Girls should never be very familiar with young men. Boys will tempt you with fine words and beautiful promises, they will bring you clothes and trinkets as gifts, but beware. Never give yourself over to any boy at night, never allow him to touch you indecently when he comes to talk to you in the evening. Do not even allow him to finger your breasts: all this is dangerous play. Just think what it would mean to have a child before marriage; would that not be an eternal shame? And just imagine the scolding you would get from your parents, the turmoil in which the whole settlement would be thrown, and the difficulty you would encounter from now on in looking for a husband. You are allowed to marry young, so let everything take its usual course. Boys will aways be boys; besides they are men, and so they are allowed a certain freedom; but you are a girl, you are a woman, and in your case nothing is allowed. An Isneg girl should never be a flirt. The boys will try to play with you; it is not for you to allow them to do so. Always show your resentment, when they have touched you the wrong way or been otherwise too familiar with you"

To touch a girl's breasts is *magkabbál* in Isneg, and it is said only of men. The existence of a special term like that serves to show that this must be something like a favorite sport among the Isneg. The following anecdote will help to prove the truth of that statement. On a certain occasion an Isneg boy was explaining to me a native term whose meaning was "purpose, intention", and, as he could hardly do so without illustrating it by an example, he told me what follows: "Suppose you touch a girl's breasts and she is angry at you, then you say: 'I did not do it intentionally' ", and here he used the term in question.

Chastity is certainly very strictly imposed upon unmarried people, or rather upon people who are not yet engaged, but from the Isneg point of view and with reference to young men, it should rather be defined: not to do anything that might render a girl pregnant. Not that the Isneg know any contraceptive measures, but that the pregnancy of a girl is considered as the thing to be avoided, not fornication as such. Both are very nearly related to one another of

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836 673 684 672 course, and the distinction seems rather to be theoretical than practical: nevertheless that is what is going on in the Isneg mind as far as I understand it. To them purpose and intention mean very little, as will be shown again very soon when I shall refer to killing as a crime: what counts is the result. If a boy chances to sleep with a girl without rendering her pregnant, the Isneg may perhaps not see anything very wrong in the whole affair, but woe to him if fate is against him.

836 684 Nevertheless with reference to young women, the code is much stricter, although the boy will suffer a much harder immediate punishment for his delinquency than will the girl. A girl should never think of doing anything in that line; a boy might perhaps be inclined to do it, but he should know the consequences, if the result is what it should not be.

834 626 I have described in my introduction to this paper how certain Isneg parents refused to send their girls to school on account of the notoriously immoral conduct of their teacher, and here is what we read in a little manual of instructions for soldiers of the Philippine Constabulary: "No Isneg woman should be joked with or touched by anyone. Christian cargadores or servants should be cautioned about this, as serious trouble may result".[1]

836 533 Once I heard a boy of some twelve years old, who was working for wages here at Kabugaw, improvise a little song, probably in order to render the work less heavy and to relieve his tiredness. The song was not what you would call a religious one, but it served to show very nicely the ideas current among these people, and at the same time it proved that even the Isneg understood the meaning of what is called an "occasion of sin" (in this case: the sin of impregnating a girl). I may be permitted to write the song down exactly as I heard it: "Do not approach my vulva, I do not want you to have sexual intercourse with me, I am afraid of becoming pregnant: so say the women".

836 684 A boy who has made a girl pregnant has to marry her; if he refuses, the raids just referred to take place without exception, and the family of the boy loses everything. The same happens when a married man commits adultery with a girl and impregnates her; in his case of course there is rarely question of marriage, and the raids take place almost without exception. Formerly the boy must have been for-

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[1] Camp John Hay Guide Book. A Trip to Ifugao and Bontoc. By Captain Harrington W. Cochran, Coast Artillery Corps, 1923, p. 28.

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tunate if it stopped at that, as the whole affair usually became a *casus belli*.

This whole state of affairs tends very much to make one believe that solitary vice is considered as lawful and not at all forbidden to young men. One day while listening to a conversation among Isneg boys, I heard them talk about flashlights, which at the time had a very great vogue and were very much sought after. The youngsters in question wanted such a light in order to find their way when going to have sexual intercourse with girls in the evening: this was literally what they said. But would they really dare do it so often as they seemed to imply? In many cases would it not be rather to indulge themselves in company with the girls, without always taking the risk of making them pregnant?

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On a similar occasion I saw a young man stretch himself out upon a heap of sand and mimick the conjugal act in the presence of several other young men who merely smiled at his behavior.

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Would it be possible for young men to live chastely on such a principle namely, that the only crime in that line is making a girl pregnant? And this seems to be the Isneg view about the matter. With girls, I repeat it, the code is much stricter: they are allowed nothing. They should conserve their body pure and undefiled, even from the mere contact of young men. It is true that the only punishment, in case of pregnancy, would be a severe scolding, but their conduct is censured whenever something untoward happens, and besides the ultimate result, that of being rejected as a prospective bride by any decent young man, must certainly serve as a powerful deterrent.

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"Honesty is an imperative virtue for every Isneg. Stealing should be loathed by all right-minded people. Never touch the property of others, do not take what does not belong to you. Why should you covet your neighbor's goods? Did you work in order to obtain them? Would you like others to rob you of the fruit of your labor? Another man's property should always be safe in your hands. Never allow anybody to suspect you of being dishonest; a thief is branded with an indelible mark that will make people distrust him at his mere approach. Never destroy the property of your neighbor; you have no right to do so: revenge would quickly follow your rash deed. If you find something that does not belong to you, give it back to the owner, it is still his, unless of course you know positively that it has been abandoned. Should the owner find his lost goods hidden in your

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deed done but the relatives of the dead soldier mustered together, went to Nagbabalayan, entered the house of the poor involuntary killer and rifled whatever they found of value.

A few months ago at Nagilian (municipal district of Namaltugan), a man ascended a coconut tree in order to gather a few nuts. Unfortunately, while he was dropping them on the ground, a child came running along and received the thump of one of the huge nuts on its head: the child fell down of course and lay unconscious. So soon as the parents and relatives heard about the whole affair, all head-axes were unsheathed, and terrible things might have happened, if the sanitary inspector, who was present at the time, had not assured the people that the child would live.

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According to the Christian code, God rewards or punishes thoughts as well as deeds. Ordinary human justice does not bother about mere intentions that are not followed by deeds, but it recognizes the act of a man as a human act, it distinguishes an act done intentionally from one done involuntarily, it differentiates between culpable negligence and unavoidable accident. The Isneg code knows no such distinctions: an act is an act; the result is the only thing taken into consideration. The Isneg language has terms for "doing purposely, intention", and so on; but in practice the fact that something was done unintentionally makes little difference: it is not the guilt of a person that is considered, but only the result of his act.

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"Adultery is a shameful crime, especially in women. An Isneg man should content himself with the wife or wives who have been paid for: avoid mixing with other women, such habits bring only woe in their wake. Take care never to make a young girl pregnant; whether the person who commits such a mistake be a married man or a young unmarried man, the result is the same, so I have not to insist upon the matter. Be not less careful when the woman in question is married: to excite the anger of her husband may have dire consequences. If you are caught in the act, who will blame the offended man for killing you? The right will ever remain on his side.

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"An unfaithful wife is a thorn in the flesh; keep to your husband, never allow any other man to share your affections. No true Isneg will stand an adulteress: your husband will divorce you and you will have no recourse, your parents will be in duty bound to give back the price they received for you. Who will respect a woman who respects neither herself nor her husband? No excuse will save you from infamy. Your husband may be inclined occasionally to have

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837 intercourse with other women, that is natural, although it is a dangerous affair; but remember that he is a man, and that you are a woman: between the two there is no possible comparison. A man may take many liberties, while a woman may take none. What are peccadilloes in a man, are crimes in a woman. Beware of deceitful men who would come to entice you away from your rightful owner. Take heed in time, since once the thing is done, there is no longer a remedy, and repentance is too late".

831 834 837 At my first visit to Nagbabalayan, a companion of mine wanted to take the picture of an Isneg woman who was pounding rice near her house. When he invited her to pose for him, she quickly demurred and added: "I am a married woman". She evidently misunderstood him, but the answer sufficiently proved what was her opinion about her responsibilities.

On a certain occasion my catechist, an Iloko Christian, went to light his cigar at that of a woman, who came smoking to the river, in order to draw water. Not knowing about his intentions, I was not able to warn him. Fortunately as he was my servant and a stranger at that, everything went on smoothly, although the woman at first strongly objected. The point was that she was married, and no Isneg is allowed to take such liberties with the wife of another man: in the eyes of an Isneg, acting that way means much more familiarity than an uninitiated person might suspect. This shows how strictly a married woman is hedged in, and how easily a man may be offended by an action that implies the smallest degree of familiarity with his wife.

836 831 562 661 554 On my second visit to Bayag, in July 1929, I met there an Isneg policeman, who was an acquaintance of mine and who was a married man. On the day I was leaving Bayag, he also had to go to a neighboring settlement; so he accompanied me for a part of the road. Here I quote textually what he told me on that occasion, apparently indignant at the occurrence: "This morning I met with a strange case: a Bayag Isneg was scolding his daughter in my presence for having slept with me last night. I asked him if he objected to my using the girl, when she consented. He answered me he did not, of course, but he merely wanted to scold the girl; he said he had nothing against me, his intention was to teach his daughter decent manners. That was all right, of course, but why should he have done so while I was around and could hear him? He should have scolded the girl at a time I was out of earshot. Why! That fellow seemed to resent

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the fact that I had used his daughter. Can you beat it?" Needless to say, the conversation was practically a soliloquy on the part of the policeman. I do not believe though that his action was consonant with the Isneg code of morals; but this incident, and especially the answer of the girl's father, shows clearly how different is the state of man and woman among the Isneg, with reference to sex morality.

It should be added here that the father would probably have objected much more strongly to the man who took such liberties with his daughter, if he had not been a policeman. The latter are supposed to be more or less immune and may take liberties not accorded to others, probably on account of their position. Isneg in general resent that: I have heard them say so more than once; but they are afraid to object too strongly, and so policemen mostly do what they like: their reputation is far from clean all over the district, although I do not believe that they are all equally blamable. Later on I heard that, at the time of the above occurrence, the policeman had intended to make the girl his second wife, an engagement which had been broken off at a subsequent date.

It may be noted in this connection that among the Isneg a man, whether single or married, who commits adultery with a married woman (*manalâdag*) is thought to be driven to his crime by some evil spirit. In such a case his guilt would be considerably lessened in our point of view; not so, however, in that of the Isneg: in his eyes, it is only the ultimate act that counts, as has been stated before.

"A fit of anger usually makes a man ridiculous in the eyes of the bystanders. It is true that when there is question of a rightful quarrel, you should never fail to sustain it; to be meek and patient under the circumstances would be mere cowardice. Nevertheless everybody is inclined to laugh at the behavior of an angry man: so, although you be strictly in your right, try to control your anger sufficiently not to cause others to laugh at you.

"You know our belief with reference to people who are wont to laugh at the defects of other persons (*magdóla*): if such people are married, they will be punished by having their children suffer the same defect; if they are still young, the children who will be born to them in the future will be misshapen (*pákań*).

"A certain amount of *bási* is not to be despised, but drinking to excess is always bad. Who respects a drunken man? Besides, think about the consequences: quarrels, fights, bloodshed, revenges, etc. As soon as you feel that you have enough, go away and sleep it off, lest

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one, the two first-mentioned children will receive each one fourth, and the other four each one eighth of the inheritance.

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In case of divorce we have to consider two eventualities:

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1. All children are married. In this case, which is almost purely theoretic, as Isneg husbands and wives are not in the habit of obtaining a divorce so late in life, there is little to be said, as there is no more property to be divided.

2. Some children or all of them are still unmarried. Married children may be left out of consideration, as they will have received their share at the time of their marriage. Unmarried children inherit from the parent whom they followed, and not from the other one. Now little children always follow their mother, while grown-ups are free to throw in their lot with either of their parents.

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With reference to the division of property at the time of divorce, only belongings common to both husband and wife, as *tádug* and so on, come under consideration, as is clear from what has been previously stated. It should, however, be noted that, if *tádug* have already been received, which means that at least one of the daughters has married, a divorce is a comparatively rare occurrence among the Isneg. Anyhow only three eventualities are possible:

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1. Common property is divided between the two by mutual agreement; and this is not at all common among the Isneg;

2. The husband is the culprit, and the woman gets everything, except of course the man's personal belongings;

3. The woman is in fault, and the husband becomes the exclusive owner of everything that was possessed in common by both of them up to the time of divorce.

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In case a married couple has no children, and one of the two dies, the survivor inherits all common property. Personal belongings, however, go to the nearest relatives of the deceased: if the parents are still alive, they get the preference; if they are dead already, the inheritance goes to brothers and sisters, uncles and aunts, nephews and nieces, cousins, etc., mostly in the order named.

After the death of the surviving party, provided no second marriage took place, his or her whole inheritance goes to his or her nearest relatives, in the same order as mentioned above. If the survivor remarries, he or she may either have children or remain childless: in both cases nothing has to be added to the preceding treatment of Isneg law.

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587 Among the Isneg, widowers rarely remain in that state for any
888 length of time, and they never fail to find somebody to share their
887 home for the rest of their days. The same may be said in general
171 with reference to young widows. An elderly widow, on the contrary, is not always so anxious to contract again the bonds of matrimony, but she will not be the less respected for that. Among the Bontok Igorot, a miserable hut, much poorer even than their ordinary dwellings, is built apart from the rest for a childless old widow, and there she lives practically abandoned by everybody. Such things do not happen in the Isneg country: the old women never fail to find somebody who is willing to give them shelter; they are as much respected as anybody else, and if they happen to be shamanesses, even more than the rest. Divorced persons are in the same condition as widows and widowers as far as the question of remarriage is concerned.

765 Widows and widowers, or polygamous husbands who mourn the
587 death of one of their wives, are forbidden to remarry as long as they wear their mourning weeds, and it is only after the ceremony connected with their change of garments that they are again free in this respect.

3. *Divorce*

586 Much has been said already about questions related to divorce,
684 and I shall not repeat it here. The statement has also been made and the evidence therefor given that, among the Isneg, the absence of children is not a reason for divorce, while the contrary is true with almost all other natives of the Mountain Province, among whom the lack of children is the chief reason for permanent separation with subsequent freedom to marry somebody else.

Among the Isneg the general rule is that people marry and live together maritally until the end of their days; nevertheless divorce is far from being infrequent. The following are the most important reasons for dissolution of the marriage relation:

By the husband:

586 1. Adultery of the woman. Among the Isneg an unfaithful wife is
684 not readily forgiven, and a young husband rarely fails to watch his
837 wife if he has some solid ground for suspecting her fidelity.

586 2. Habitual laziness. At the time of his marriage, an Isneg man
684 is far from expecting to have to do most of the work himself, as the
461 division of labor is ruled by custom, and the share of the women is very considerable, as has been stated in the preceding pages. Be-

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sides, the most cogent social reason for an Isneg to enter the state of matrimony is an economic one, as recorded at the beginning of this chapter: he wants his wife to feed him and to relieve him of most all solicitude and anxiety with reference to his daily sustenance and that of his children. Now if he happens to be frustrated in his expectations, there is no reason why he should not turn his eyes elsewhere and try to make a better choice, abandoning his old love and embarking on a new matrimonial venture.

3. Lack of hospitality. This is another reason why an Isneg man may abandon his wife. He will not suffer the shame of having his house shunned by strangers because his partner does not show the customary courtesy to a guest. This certainly lays a strong curb upon the habitual crabbedness of many Isneg women, who are not renowned for sweetness of temper. Their irritability is understandable, however, as the habitual drudgery, which is their common lot, is far from conducive to softening of temper.

By the wife:

1. Adultery of the man. An Isneg husband is allowed much more freedom in this respect than his wife, but things may come to such a pass that even the most patient woman is unable to stand it. Besides, a certain incompatibility may have been present from the beginning, and then of course a husband's mistakes, which under ordinary circumstances are regarded as petty faults, may become a sufficient reason for breaking the tie altogether.

2. Habitual laziness. An Isneg wife rarely expects too much with reference to her husband's activity. But if he regularly fails to comply with the few duties that fall to his share, and does not give his wife the necessary help without which she cannot reasonably comply with her own part of the work, then of course the easiest way for her is to try her luck elsewhere, or to wait for a better opportunity, in the meantime leaving her former husband to his own devices.

Needless to say, divorce happens much more often in the case of couples who have been forced into matrimony by their parents, than in that of young people who have arranged everything on their own initiative.

Again divorce rarely happens late in life, when husband and wife have been living together for many years, and have perhaps married not a few of their children. Indeed, a woman who has proved faith-

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586 ful for many years, rarely becomes an adulteress in her old age, and, on the other hand, a young wife is much more jealous of the exclusive love of her husband than an older one; and people who were industrious during the first years of their married life, rarely give their partner a reason for divorce on that score later in life, when several children may perhaps be helping them to lighten the burden. 586 With reference to lack of hospitality on the part of the woman, this 574 also will rarely be a reason for permanent separation after many years of cohabitation; because the woman does not as a rule change with years in her habitual politeness toward guests of the house, or, if she does, her husband will in all probability have become more lenient in that respect and forgive her more easily any breach of hospitality that may happen at a time when the former good reputation of the house will hardly be impaired by a little grumbling on the part of a woman advanced in years.

586 To separate (*maxadi*) is usually a very easy matter, as regards 684 husband and wife. A few hard words may occasionally accompany the ultimate breaking of the marriage tie, but in general both of them merely go their own way. The woman goes back to her parents and the husband stays where he is, or, in case the latter is still living at the house of his parents-in-law, he leaves and she stays; and there the matter rests as far as they are concerned. With reference to the children, the little ones follow the mother, and the others are free to do as they please: they may take sides with either their father or their mother according to their own wishes. If the *tádug*, or price paid for the bride, is to be returned to the parents of the groom, these have to look out for it by themselves, and to agree about the matter with the parents of their former daughter-in-law. The divorced couple had no hand in the whole affair at the time of their marriage, and they never obtained any advantages on that account, so why should they bother about it at this stage and enter into discussions which could bring them only trouble without the smallest prospect of any emolument?

Isneg law is very simple in this respect. If the husband is at fault, nothing is returned, and besides the culprit is often heavily fined (*xúsi* jars, beads, etc.) by the angered relatives of the girl. If the wife is the guilty party, everything has to be given back. But in practice it is sometimes very hard to decide whether the blame is or is not all on one side. Except in a few cases, as in that of flagrant adultery on the part of the woman and so on, everything may have

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taken its regular course, and the final crisis may have been reached before anybody was fully aware of it: small matters may have been combined into difficulties of huge proportions, disgust on both sides may have led to mistakes on both sides. And so it is usually not an easy matter to decide exactly what has to be done under the circumstances. Hence follow quarrels: the woman's people are loath to part with the *tádug* which, as a matter of course, they have come to consider as their own property, and the parents of the man are overanxious to get it back in order to use it for a future marriage that generally is very near in the offing, and lest they have to pay two *tádug* for one and the same boy.

This whole state of affairs is very well illustrated by what happened in the case of *Kadáw*, previously referred to (Publ. Cath. anthrop. conf., 3: 146). One of *Kadáw*'s sons divorced one of his three wives; the woman went home, married another man, left him again, and then married a third one, namely *Rukkadčú*, a Baliwanan married man. The *tádug* had been given back to *Kadáw*, except a certain number of jars, six if I remember well. Now *Kadáw*'s party claimed that everything had to be given back, because the woman was in fault: the fact of the woman's multitudinous marriages seemed indeed to lend some color to this. The other party, led by *Pa-rdy*, the municipal president of Tawit, claimed that the woman had been practically abandoned by her husband, who had failed to give her the customary attentions and to comply with his most elementary duties in her behalf: this was also the common rumor all over the district. The whole quarrel was settled by the authorities in favor of *Pa-rdy*, but the other party did not rest satisfied, and the whole affair culminated in the murder of the unfortunate *Rukkadčú* by old *Kadáw* himself. While in jail the latter swore to kill one of his sons, as soon as he got free, because they had shown that they had not the blood of the *mčúal* (brave) flowing in their veins: they had forced their old father to take revenge in their stead. Incidentally it should be noted that *Kadáw* himself did not show much valor in the whole affair: after a few words of friendly salutation between *Kadáw* and *Rukkadčú*, both of them had gone in the same direction in the usual Indian file, *Kadáw* walking behind. The latter had administered a vicious blow of his headax on the neck of his intended victim, and when *Rukkadčú* had turned to face him, he had struck him a second blow in the forehead, after which he had run as fast as he could.

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When *Rukkqdéń* ran homewards in order to fetch his gun, *Kadáw* again had followed him hoping to give him the coup de grâce, but when the latter had got hold of his gun, *Kadáw* had fled a second time and hid in the municipal building. *Rukkadéń* had shown at least that he was not a coward: although wounded to death he had faced his adversary and tried to kill him; he died a couple of hours later. The whole Isneg outfit of policemen and soldiers had not made a very brave stand either, as the last scene of the drama was enacted in the public square, and none of them dared approach old *Kadáw*, who had entrenched himself in the building just referred to and refused to lay down his headax reeking with blood. He finally surrendered at the summons of the lieutenant of the constabulary who threatened him with his revolver.

In concluding this account of marriage, the following Isneg expressions may be recorded:

Mañén: Menses.

Maxatáwa: To marry. Said of both men and women.

Maŋatáwa: To marry. Said only of men.

Makiatáwa: To marry. Said only of women.

Meatáwa: To be married. Said only of women.

Maŋadnwá: To live in bigamy. From the stem *dnwá*, "two", and the complex prefix *maña*, syncopated for *maŋ* and *ka*.

Maña-ló: To have three wives. From the syncopated stem *talló*, "three", and the complex prefix *maña*.

Dumaládag: To commit adultery, to be in love with another man. Said of married women.

Manaládag: To commit adultery with a married woman. Said of men, whether married or single.

Sumibná: To separate, to go and live in another house. This does not always and necessarily mean divorce; it may also mean that somebody stops living with a certain family in order to go and live somewhere else; for instance, a young married couple who have built themselves a new house, or who go to live in a house different from the one they have previously lived in, provided the latter was inhabited at the same time by another family, who continue to live there after their former companions went away.

The Common Law enjoins that man must not: 685
steal, tell false stories of others, court the wife of an- 683
other, nor make trouble at a feast. It further enjoins 684
that a man must respect the rights of individuals, 689
give food to visitors, give aid to neighbors, and that 867
parents shall teach children the old customs and legends, as well as correct them in order that they may grow up properly.

The Apayaos have a very complete system of so- 576
cial etiquette which might be characteristic of a high 192
culture. It displays a nice sense of fitness and an innate kindliness of nature. Hispitable customs make the visitor's stay a happy one. There is even no embarrassing sense of indebtedness for gifts of service or materials to be expressed: for the people have no word meaning "thank you" in their dialect. When one goes on a journey, there is no word meaning "goodbye": no sad word of farewell. One just walks away as if he were going down to the river to take a bath. When he returns, even after a long absence there is no word of greeting. He is treated just as if he had only come back from taking his bath. As a matter [515] of fact he may have; for it is the custom to take a bath in the last river crossed before reaching home.

The people keep their houses and surrounding 356
grounds clean and neat. Clothing is kept washed, 515
and daily baths in the river are taken. The bark of [824]
the *taplet* tree is used for cleansing purpose.

The Apayaos are remarkedly modest about their 516
persons. A woman must not allow her legs to spread 834
when squatting to a sitting position nor allow her tapis to go above her knees. Even when there are no 834

844 woman, making her delivery so hard that she will die. They are kept there until the woman is strong enough to go outdoors again.

846 As soon as she is able, the woman goes to the river to wash, accompanied by a male relative holding an *aliwa* on which is ginger. On the way he must always be in the rear, as the *aliwa* and ginger are guarding the woman from some *anito* which desires to cut off her head and cause her death. If the *anito* succeeds, she will die suddenly upon reaching home.

When they arrive home, the man places the ginger with the *pungan* and *igad* at the door. These are kept there until the woman is strong enough to go to work. During that time it is strictly prohibited that anyone outside of the family shall enter the house. It means death to do so. This strong taboo is observed until the woman says that she is ready to receive a visitor. The wife seldom leaves her home and work.

586 The marriage bond is permanent; but it may be
[461 broken by the man if he finds that his wife performs
684] very little farm labor. Even though they have children, he is entitled to divorce her upon giving her a
[587] small portion of the conjugal property. Both are
[584 then free to marry again. The woman must impli-
83] citly obey her husband and be absolutely true to him:
684 no little flirting with other men. If she is found guilty of any offence, her fine is heavy. If she commits adultery with another man, both should be killed: the man by the relatives of the wife, and the wife by the relatives of the husband. However, if there are extenuating circumstances and the death sentence is not imposed, both guilty parties are sentenced

to pay heavy indemnities to the relatives of the injured husband. When the husband is so inclined, he may take one or more wives, provided that he is wealthy enough to support them. However, the wife controls in marriage, her own inherited property.

When the husband dies, the woman retains only her clothing and returns to her relatives. All the property is divided equally among the children. If they are young, the man's relatives take and raise them, keeping the property in trust. Upon marriage each child receives his share.

RELIGION

The Apayao name for a god is "*anito.*" Now, it is hard for anyone to explain how all the "acts of God" are the activity of one single personality; as some "acts" are benevolent and others are malevolent. The Apayaos believe that different "acts" are the doings of differents *anitos*, some benevolent and others malevolent. Natural phenomena are explained as being the work of some *anito*. Each occurrence or activity of a person is governed by some certain *anito*. Therefore they may number up into the thousands. Thus one is constantly aware of his relations with the *anitos*, and the Apayao is very religious. For instance if he is setting a trap for wild pig in the forest, he will ask one *anito* to forgive him for trying to trap the pig; another *anito* to let the pig be guided into the trap; and another *anito* that the trap will spring and catch the pig.

Many *anitos* live in natural objects; but the most prominent ones dwlel in *Guynetban* in the sky. Each

THE PREGNANT WOMAN

000 *There were two brothers, Dinkoan and Linado-*lan; and two sisters, Dommaria and Lananan. While the two sisters were bathing in the river, it happened that they saw a burning bundle of rice. It was like puffed rice; so Lananan ate some. The burnt rice had been thrown into the river by Enoy, who was taking a bath above them in the river.

● 684 When the brothers found out that their sister
836 was pregnant, they were ashamed, and they decided
[152] to put her in the thick forest. So they took her to gather bark for G-strings. As Lananan gathered the bark of a tree for the G-string, it became cloth; but the bark which the brothers gathered remained bark. When they saw this, they became jealous and asked her for some cloth. She did not like to share the cloth; so all the rest became angry and ran away from her. She shouted and shouted; but no one answered her. She kept hunting for the way to go home; but could not find it. At night-fall she found a flat stone on which she slept.

789 After sleeping a few hours, she awoke and saw several fine houses nearby and there was a fire burning. When she looked further, she saw a number of granaries full of rice. She entered one of the houses and found a stick of sugar cane. She peeled it, cut it into pieces, threw them out the door, and prayed: "May each of these pieces become a pig." They did so. Thus Lananan become a rich woman.

000 Her brothers became very anxious to see her, as they missed her. They asked their cousins, Ewagan

THE PUNISHMENT OF AN ADULTEROUS COUPLE

837 A long time ago there was a man. His name was Manaboc and the name of his son was Laguesad. The son had a wife, Adud. Laguesad took Adud and went with a party to Sulsuna for trading purposes. One night on the way, at Alisit in Naguilian, one of the men of Alisit went and slept with Adud. He did this for several nights. Manoboc observed that they were together as he saw the smoke of their cigars. One day he went to the river and gathered many leaves which he dried thoroughly. Then that night he piled up the leaves in the house. When he saw the two together, he set the leaves afire. The flame blazed up and disclosed that the two were having intercourse. The man was frightened and ran away, leaving all his belongings, even his G-string.

684 Manaboc and his son agreed to kill the lover and Adud. They called all of the people of Alisit in Naguilian together for a feast. When all the people were in the house, Manaboc ordered his son to fasten shut all of the windows and throw a pot full of water on the fire so that the people in the house would start fighting in the darkness. The son did so, and Manaboc and his son went outside and closed the door. The people shut inside, became panicky and starter a fierce fight against each other. More than a hundred were thus killed. Adud, the adulterous wife of Laguesad, was killed because she was the cause of all the trouble.